

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 36424

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: US, FR, XA
SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S CONVERSATIONS
WITH QUAI AFRICAN DIRECTOR

FOLLOWING IS UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY
MOOSE'S CONVERSATIONS IN PARIS WITH QUAI DIRECTOR OF
AFRICAN AFFAIRS GEORGY. DEPARTMENT PLEASE MAKE APPRO-
PRIATE DISTRIBUTION AFTER CLEARANCE.

SUMMARY: ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE MOOSE MET WITH
FOREIGN MINISTRY DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS GEORGY AND
HIS PRINCIPAL DEPUTY DECEMBER 9. IN LENGTHY DISCUSSION
DEALING PRIMARILY WITH BROADER QUESTIONS RATHER THAN
SPECIFIC ISSUES, GEORGY DESCRIBED WHAT THE FRENCH
CONSIDER THE ESSENTIALS FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND
FURTHERANCE OF WESTERN INTERESTS AS FOLLOWS: (A) PEACE.
THIS TAKES PREFERENCE OVER ALL ELSE. WITHOUT IT
LIMITED RESOURCES WILL BE SQUANDERED AND LEADERSHIP
DIVERTED FROM TASKS OF DEVELOPMENT. (B) CONTINUED
ADHERENCE TO THE POLICY OF RESPECT FOR INHERITED
COLONIAL FRONTIERS. IF THIS PRINCIPLE ERODED A CYCLE
OF VIOLENCE COULD BE UNLEASHED. (C) ACCEPTANCE OF
EXISTING REGIMES AT LEAST TO THE EXTENT OF NOT TAKING
SIDES IN LEADERSHIP DISPUTES WITHIN AFRICAN STATES.

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(D) WESTERN COOPERATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TO
AVOID BOTH INEFFECTUALITY OF AID GIVEN THROUGH MULTI-
LATERAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE TENDENCY OF DONORS TO
TRY AND FURTHER NARROW NATIONAL GOALS.

IN DISCUSSING NORTH WEST AFRICA GEORGY SAID THAT
WHEN NARROWER CONSIDERATIONS ARE PUT ASIDE THE ESSEN-

TIAL REMAINING FACTOR IS BOUMEDIENE'S PURSUIT OF A POLICY DESIGNED TO EXPAND ALGERIAN INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT THE SAHARA REGION. IT IS A POLICY WHICH HAS ALARMED BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS. IRONICALLY, BOUMEDIENE MAY BE CREATING FUTURE DIFFICULTIES FOR ALGERIA BY FOSTERING A SAHARAN NATIONALISM WHICH WILL NOT BE CONTENT WITH ALGERIAN LEADERSHIP AND DOMINATION. IF A SAHARAN NATIONAL IDENTITY EVOLVES, IT COULD BE A MAJOR UNSETTLING FACTOR FOR YEARS TO COME. ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, GEORGY SAID IT IS INEVITABLE THAT THE PROBLEMS OF NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA WILL BE RESOLVED SHORTLY -- IN A FEW MONTHS OR IN A YEAR OR TWO. THE PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM WILL NOT BE SO EASILY SETTLED, CERTAINLY NOT BY PRESCRIPTIONS WRITTEN IN THE WEST. THEY MAY ONLY BEGIN TO BE RESOLVED BY THE NEXT GENERATION APPROACHING THEM WITH A DIFFERENT MENTALITY. GEORGY SAW THE LIKELIHOOD OF AN UNSTABLE SITUATION ON THE HORN OF AFRICA FOR MANY YEARS TO COME. THE SOMALIS ARE NOT WEALTHY OR NUMEROUS ENOUGH TO WIN A PERMANENT VICTORY, THOUGH THE ETHIOPIANS ARE NOW SO DISORGANIZED AND DEMORALIZED THAT IT MAY BE SOME TIME BEFORE THEY WILL BE ABLE TO MOUNT AN EFFECTIVE COUNTERATTACK. RUSSIAN OBJECTIVES ARE UNCLEAR; PERHAPS THEY HAVE NOT YET GIVEN UP HOPE OF EVENTUALLY HAVING BOTH SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA UNDER THEIR CONTROL. THEY ARE IN ANY CASE UPSET BY THE LOSS

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OF THE BERBERA FACILITIES AND ARE LOOKING FOR ALTERNATIVES. FRENCH POLICY TOWARDS THE HORN WILL BE DOMINATED BY CONCERN FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ITS FORMER COLONY DJIBOUTI. GEORGY WAS PLEASED TO HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY FOR CONSULTATIONS AT THIS LEVEL AND REACTED POSITIVELY TO MOOSE'S SUGGESTION THAT WE CONSIDER REINSTATING THE PRACTICE OF REGULAR ANNUAL BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS MOOSE HAD LENGTHY CONSULTATIONS DECEMBER 9 WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS GUY GEORGY AND HIS PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT CLAUDE HAREL DURING A TWO AND A HALF HOUR MORNING SESSION AND A LUNCHEON HOSTED BY AMBASSADOR HARTMAN. A SHORTER AFTERNOON SESSION WITH PRESIDENT GISCARD'S AFRICAN ADVISOR RENE JOURNIAC COVERED MUCH OF THE SAME GROUND AND TURNED UP NO SIGNIFICANT DIVERGENCES BETWEEN THINKING AT THE QUAI AND THE

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ELYSEE.

2. NORTH AFRICA. GEORGY BEGAN THE MORNING DISCUSSION WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NORTH AFRICA. HE SAID THAT ATTENTION HAS FOCUSED ON THE FIGHTING BETWEEN THE POLISARIO AND MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA AND, AS FAR AS FRANCE IS CONCERNED, THE HOSTAGES ISSUE. THIS PREOCCUPATION WITH IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS HAS TENDED TO OBSCURE AN EMERGING SITUATION OF POTENTIALLY GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR AFRICA AND THE WEST; THE EMERGENCE OF A SAHARAN NATIONALISM. GEORGY SAID THAT THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM IN NORTH AFRICA IS BOUMEDIENE'S DESIRE TO MAKE THE SAHARA A TERRITORY UNDER ALGERIAN INFLUENCE IF NOT ACTUAL CONTROL. BOUMEDIENE WANTS ALGERIA TO HAVE THE DOMINANT ROLE IN EXPLOITING THE POTENTIAL RICHES OF THE AREA AND TO BE THE REGION'S PRINCIPAL ENTREPOT. IN PURSUIT OF THIS SAHARAN POLICY BOUMEDIENE TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION CREATED BY THE DEPARTURE OF THE SPANISH TO ENCITE THE POLISARIO TO RISE AGAINST MOROCCAN AND MAURITANIAN CONTROL. THE POPULATION OF THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA WAS TOO SMALL TO SUPPORT AN EFFECTIVE FIGHTING FORCE (GEORGY SAID THAT, IN FACT, THE POLISARIO IS DOMINATED BY MUKHTAR OULD DADDAH'S FORMER MAURITANIAN POLITICAL OPPONENTS). BOUMEDIENE HAS THEREFORE BEEN RECRUITING FOR THE

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POLISARIO AMONG THE SAHARAN TRIBES OF MOROCCO,

MAURITANIA, ALGERIA, MALI, AND EVEN AS FAR AWAY AS NIGER. BY BRINGING THESE PEOPLE TOGETHER UNDER ARMS HE HAS BEGUN THE PROCESS OF FORMATION OF SAHARAN NATIONALISM AMONG FAR-SPREAD PEOPLES WHOSE PRINCIPAL DESIRE HERETOFORE WAS TO BE LEFT FREE IN THEIR NOMADIC LIFE. THE SAHARANS ARE A TOUGH AND WARLIKE PEOPLE AND IT IS IRONIC THAT BOUMEDIENE MAY BE CREATING A FORCE WHICH HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CONTROL. THIS DEVELOPMENT HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO ALARM THE BLACK AFRICAN STATES BORDERING THE SAHARA. GEORGY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS CERTAINLY A MAJOR FACTOR BEHIND THE WEST AFRICAN NON-AGGRESSION AND MILITARY CO-OPERATION AGREEMENTS. THE HAPHAZARD MANNER IN WHICH COLONIAL BORDERS WERE DRAWN HAS RESULTED IN A NUMBER OF STATES ALONG THE SAHARA WITH A DISTINCT ARAB-BLACK AFRICAN DICHOTOMY WHICH HAS BEEN AT BEST UNEASILY PAPERED OVER. (IT IS ANOTHER IRONY THAT DADDAH WAS AMONG THE MOST SUCCESSFUL IN ACHIEVING A RECONCILIATION IN MAURITANIA.) GEORGY SAID THAT HE HAD NO RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO WHAT MIGHT BE DONE BUT THAT IT IS A DEVELOPMENT WHICH BEARS CLOSE WATCHING. MOOSE SAID THAT GEORGY HAD PRESENTED AN INTERESTING THEORY WHICH DESERVED STUDY.

3. CHAD. GEORGY SAID THAT THE SITUATION IN CHAD WAS ANALOGOUS TO THAT IN NORTH AFRICA BUT HAD SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT ORIGINS. THE DESTITUTE MUSLIM TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN CHAD--THE RESIDUE OF MANY MIGRATIONS--WERE QADHAFI'S TOOL IN THE EFFORT TO FOSTER THE SPREAD OF ISLAM SOUTHWARD IN AFRICA. QADHAFI COULD NOT ACCEPT THE FACT OF CHRISTIAN DOMINATION OF THE CHAD GOVERNMENT. HE THEREFORE SUPPLIED THE VARIOUS REBEL

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GROUPS WITH ARMS AND MONEY TO FIGHT THE GOVERNMENT IN NDJAMENA; EVERY TIME THAT IT APPEARED ONE OR MORE OF THE GROUPS WAS ABOUT TO REACH AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT HE POURED IN MORE MONEY TO UNDO THE ATTEMPT AT RECONCILIATION. GEORGY SAID THAT QADHAFI IS THE KEY TO A SETTLEMENT. HE HAD TALKED WITH HIM A NUMBER OF TIMES AND IT WAS DIFFICULT TO ENVISAGE AN EARLY SOLUTION WHEN QADHAFI -- IN REFERENCE TO HIS TRIBAL ORIGINS -- TALKED OF CHAD AS "MY OWN COUNTRY". (GEORGY WAS FORMERLY AMBASSADOR IN LIBYA.)

4. THE HORN. GEORGY SAID HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE HORN OF AFRICA. SOMALIA IS TOO POOR A COUNTRY AND HAS TOO LITTLE POPULATION TO WIN A DECISIVE AND FINAL SOLUTION IN THE OGADEN. THE SOMALIS ARE, MOREOVER, FACED WITH THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

OF WHERE TO GET SUFFICIENT ARMS. THE ARAB STATES
APPEAR TO BE HELPING OUT WITH SOME SOVIET ARMS. SOMALI
LEADERS TALK ABOUT SWITCHING TO WESTERN ARMS BUT EVEN
IF THEY COULD GET THEM, IT IS A PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY
FOR A COUNTRY LIKE SOMALIA TO SWITCH THE SUPPLY BASIS
OF ITS ARMY IN THE MIDST OF A WAR. THOUGH SOMALIA
CANNOT WIN A DECISIVE VICTORY, THE ETHIOPIANS APPEAR
TOO DEMORALIZED AND DISORGANIZED TO MOUNT AN EFFECTIVE
COUNTERATTACK IN THE NEAR FUTURE. EVEN WITH MASSIVE
SOVIET ASSISTANCE, THE ETHIOPIAN STATE WILL BE A

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FRAGILE ENTITY FOR SOME TIME TO COME. THE FEUDALISM
WHICH WAS THE BASIS OF ETHIOPIAN SOCIETY FOR CENTURIES
HAS BEEN ROOTED OUT BUT THERE IS NOTHING NOW TO TAKE
ITS PLACE. IT WILL BE MANY YEARS, PERHAPS A GENERA-
TION, BEFORE A LEADERSHIP WILL EMERGE IN ETHIOPIA
CAPABLE OF PROVIDING STABILITY TO THE COUNTRY.

5. GEORGY SAID THAT SOMALI POLICY TOWARDS KENYA WAS
AMBIGUOUS. THE FRENCH HAD URGED SOMALI VICE PRESIDENT
AFRAH DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO FRANCE TO REASSURE
THE KENYANS. AFRAH'S REPLY WAS THAT SOMALIA HAD NO
TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST KENYA BUT THAT IT WAS IM-
POSSIBLE PUBLICLY TO RENOUNCE ANY INTEREST IN SOMALIS
LIVING IN KENYA. (ELYSEE ADVISOR JOURNIAC IN A
SEPARATE CONVERSATION SAID THAT HE SAW SOME FAVORABLE
EVOLUTION OF SOMALI POLICY TOWARDS KENYA; THE SOMALIS
WERE NOW QUITE STRAIGHTFORWARD IN DISCLAIMING TERRI-
TORIAL AMBITIONS AND SAID THAT THEY ONLY

WANTED KENYA TO TREAT ITS SOMALI CITIZENS THE SAME AS ANY OTHER KENYANS.) GEORGY SAID THAT FRENCH ADVICE TO THE SOMALIS WAS TO THINK ABOUT THE TIME WHEN THEY WILL BE FACING A STRONGER ETHIOPIA AND TO BEGIN NOW TO IMPROVE THE COUNTRY'S DIPLOMATIC POSITION. MOOSE SAID THAT THIS WAS SIMILAR TO ADVICE HE HAD RECENTLY GIVEN TO THE SOMALI AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON TO THE SECRET

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EFFECT THAT SO LONG AS SOMALIA APPEARS TO BE THE AGGRESSOR IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE US AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS TO CONSIDER MILITARY ASSISTANCE. IF SOMALIA WERE TO ADOPT A DEFENSIVE MILITARY POSTURE AND SHOW A GENUINE WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE ITS DIFFERENCES WITH ETHIOPIA THEN IT WOULD BE EASIER FOR THE US AND OTHERS TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE SHOULD SOMALI TERRITORY BE THREATENED.

6. GEORGY SAID THAT HE WAS UNSURE OF SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN THE AREA; PERHAPS THEY HOPE EVENTUALLY TO HAVE DOMINANT POSITIONS ON BOTH ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA. IN THE MEANTIME, THEY WILL HAVE BEEN DISTURBED BY THE LOSS OF MILITARY FACILITIES AT BERBERA AND ELSEWHERE IN SOMALIA. THE FRENCH HAD RECEIVED REPORTS THAT THE SOVIETS WERE ATTEMPTING TO ELABORATE THE FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO THEM ON SOCOTRA ISLAND. HE SAID THAT THE GOF WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY INFORMATION WE COULD PROVIDE ON SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO FIND ALTERNATE MILITARY FACILITIES IN THE AREA.

7. SOUTHERN AFRICA. GEORGY SAID THE GOF FEELS THAT THE QUESTIONS OF NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA WOULD BE RESOLVED SHORTLY -- IF NOT IN TWO MONTHS, THEN IN TWO YEARS. (DETAILED COMMENTS ON CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS REPORTED SEPTEL.) POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA, HOWEVER, WILL NOT COME SO EASILY. THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL NOT ACCEPT PRESCRIPTIONS FOR CHANGE WRITTEN IN THE WEST. THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE A DEEPLY ENTRENCHED SETTLER MENTALITY AND WILL RESIST THE ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE ALTERATIONS IN THE SYSTEM FROM OUTSIDE. THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL EVOLVE SECRET

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WITH TIME AS THE MENTALITY OF THE WHITE POPULATION ALTERS, BUT SUBSTANTIAL MODIFICATIONS OF THE SYSTEM

MAY NOT TAKE PLACE IN THIS GENERATION. MOOSE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PROBLEM OF SOUTH AFRICA WAS DIFFICULT BUT SAID WE WOULD KEEP UP THE PRESSURE BECAUSE WE THOUGHT IT MORALLY RIGHT TO DO SO.

8. ANGOLA. MOOSE ENQUIRED WHAT GEORGY THOUGHT WERE THE CHANCES OF A REDUCTION OF CUBAN FORCES IN ANGOLA -- A MATTER RELATED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM. GEORGY SAID HE THOUGHT A MAJOR REDUCTION UNLIKELY BECAUSE THE NETO GOVERNMENT WOULD COLLAPSE WITHOUT CUBAN BACKING. IT COULD, HOWEVER, BE USEFUL TO KEEP DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE ON THE CUBANS AS NETO IS UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO THEIR DEPARTURE EVEN IN THE EVENT OF AN AGREEMENT WITH SAVIMBI. IN THAT CASE HE WOULD LIKE THE CUBANS THERE TO BACK UP HIS POSITION. AS IT IS, A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WITH SAVIMBI DOES NOT APPEAR LIKELY SOON. IN THIS REGARD, THE FRENCH HAD HEARD REPORTS THAT THE SOVIETS WERE ATTEMPTING TO ENCOURAGE A RECONCILIATION. THE INESCAPABLE FACT IS THAT ANGOLA IS DEEPLY SPLIT ON TRIBAL LINES WHICH COMPLICATES THE PROBLEM OF ACCOMMODATION.

9. GEORGY CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS BY OUTLINING THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH THE FRENCH REGARD AS ESSENTIAL FOR THE

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FUTURE PROSPERITY AND WELL BEING OF AFRICA AND THE
ADVANCEMENT OF WESTERN INTERESTS. THE MOST IMPORTANT
OF THESE IS REQUIREMENT FOR PEACE. AFRICAN MATERIAL
RESOURCES ARE NOW LIMITED AND MUST NOT BE FRITTERED

AWAY IN WAR BUT RATHER USED FOR DEVELOPMENT. SIMILARLY, THERE IS A VERY THIN EDUCATED ELITE EVERYWHERE IN BLACK AFRICA AND IT SHOULD NOT BE DIVERTED AWAY FROM CONCENTRATION ON DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. A RELATED NECESSITY IS FOR CONTINUED ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INVIOABILITY OF THE INHERITED COLONIAL FRONTIERS. THERE ARE CASES WHERE A STRONG ARGUMENT CAN BE MADE THAT CHANGE IS JUSTIFIED. SHOULD THE PRINCIPLE BECOME ERODED, HOWEVER, THERE ARE ALMOST LIMITLESS SITUATIONS WHICH COULD LEAD TO THE BEGINNING OF AN ENDLESS CYCLE OF WARS OVER FRONTIERS. GEORGY SAID IT IS IMPORTANT IN DEALING WITH AFRICAN STATES THAT THE WESTERN POWERS SHOW TOLERANCE OF EXISTING REGIMES TO THE EXTENT AT LEAST OF NOT GETTING INVOLVED IN INTERNAL STRUGGLES FOR POWER. IN MOST CASES THE CHANCES OF INSTALLING A REGIME BETTER THAN ITS PREDECESSOR ARE SLIM AND THE MOST LIKELY RESULT OF INTERFERENCE WILL BE TO SOW DISTRUST OF WESTERN MOTIVES. FINALLY, THE WESTERN POWERS SHOULD COOPERATE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE THROUGH MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS HAS A TENDENCY TO BE TOO SECRET

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DIFFUSE; "IT FALLS ON AFRICA LIKE DROPS OF RAIN WITHOUT HAVING SIGNIFICANT IMPACT". PURELY BILATERAL AID ON THE OTHER HAND IS OFTEN ADMINISTERED TO FURTHER NARROW OBJECTIVES OF THE DONOR STATE. IT IS CONSEQUENTLY NOT AS EFFECTIVE AS IT MIGHT BE IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IT PROMPTS A HARMFUL SPIRIT OF COMPETITION BETWEEN DONOR STATES.

10. AT THE END OF THE MORNING MEETING GEORGY SAID THAT HE WAS VERY PLEASED TO HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT THIS LEVEL. HE HAD FOUND IT VERY USEFUL. MOOSE SAID THAT AT ONE TIME THERE HAD BEEN REGULAR ANNUAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN SENIOR FRENCH AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS DEALING WITH AFRICA AND ASKED WHETHER IT MIGHT NOT BE A GOOD IDEA TO REVIVE THE PRACTICE. GEORGY SAID HE FAVORED SUCH CONSULTATIONS, WHICH THE FRENCH NOW HAVE WITH THE BRITISH AND GERMANS.
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MEMORANDUM OF ASSISTANT SEC
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